

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /011 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 110940

EXDIS TOSEC 1092 JERUSALEM ONLY ZFF

FOLLOWING REPEAT JAKARTA 6424 SENT SECSTATE INFO SAIGON
DATED MAY 24.

QUOTE

S E C R E T JAKARTA 6424

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, ID, VS

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS

REF: JAKARTA 6327

1. SUMMARY: IF INDONESIANS ACCEPT PROPOSAL FOR
ALDRICH VISIT, BELIEVE PRIMARY PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO
REASSURE THEM RE OUR INTEREST IN VIETNAM PROBLEM,
PROVIDE OUR VIEWS ON POSSIBILITY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
AND PROVIDE ASSESSMENT SITUATION ON GROUND AND LIKELY
US HELP TO SAIGON. RISK EXISTS THAT GOI MAY RAISE
QUESTION FINANCIAL SUPPORT OR BE FURTHER

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DISCOURAGED BY PICTURE ALDRICH PRESENTS. ON BALANCE

WE BELIEVE EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION REALITIES WITH EMPHASIS ON IMPORTANT ROLE OF ICCS WILL BE HELPFUL IN SUPPORTING THOSE IN GOI WHO FAVOR ICCS ROLE. END SUMMARY.

2. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON PRECISELY WHY INDONESIANS CHOSE TO RAISE QUESTION POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS AND THEN APPARENTLY ACK AWAY. WE DO KNOW THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT VALE OF INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS AND IS TROUBLED BY LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. WE KNOW ALSO HE IS CONCERNED POSSIBLE WEAKENING U.S. ROLE BECAUSE OF OUR CURRENT DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES. HE MAY ALSO FEAR THAT INDONESIAN EXPOSURE IN ICCS COULD CREATE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR HIM EITHER THROUGH CASUALTIES OR THROUGH APPARENT DEPARTURE FROM TRADITIONAL NONALIGNMENT. MOST LOGICAL EXPLANATION OF LATEST EVENTS IS THAT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT IN MEETING OF STABILIZATION COUNCIL WAS TRIGGERED BY REPORTS OF BREAK-OFF GVN-VIET CONG TALKS AND BY GROWING IMPASSE IN ICCS. REPORT OF NEW LIMITATIONS ON U.S. AID TO VIETNAM MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN ELEMENT.

3. WE HAVE INDICATION ALSO THAT ORIGINAL PRESS PLAY OF GOI POSITION MAY HAVE SUGGESTED MORE IMMINENT WITHDRAWAL, OR MORE DEFINITE DECISION THAN SUHARTO INTENDED AND THAT OUR DEMARCHE AND HANOI'S STATEMENT WERE SEIZED ON TO JUSTIFY WITHDRAWING THREAT TO DEPART. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, SUHARTO'S BASIC DOUBTS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE LATEST EVENTS WERE PART OF PLOY TO INJECT GOI INTO DIPLOMATIC ROLE TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, THOUGH IT QUITE POSSIBLE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL WAS RAISED, IN PART, TO STIMULATE GRATER ACTIVITY TOWARD SETTLEMENT. SUHARTO ALREADY SOMEWHAT RELUCTANTLY INVOLVED IN PHILIPPINE/MALAYSIAN PROBLEM AND WE DOUBT HE WOULD WISH TO TAKE ON ANOTHER.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND WE HAVE PROPOSED ALDRICH
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MISSION. WE SEE THESE OBJECTIVES:

(A) TO PROVIDE FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK PRIMARILY WITH ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS AND IMPLEMENTATION PARIS AGREEMENTS, INCLUDING POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED CONTACTS BETWEEN GVN AND NVN/PRG; (OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT MALIK IS ONE OF STRONGER SUPPORTERS OF CONTINUED INDONESIAN INVOLVEMENT IN

ICCS AND THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM WILL BE USED
BOLSTER HIS ARGUMENTATION FOR REMAINING.)

(B) GIVE, TO EXTENT WE CAN, ASSESSMENT OF
MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM
INCLUDING EFFECT OF RECENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS
ON OUR PRESENCE;

(C) SHARE OUR ESTIMATE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE
ATTITUDES, INCLUDING LIKELIHOOD OF NEW OFFENSIVE;

(D) SHARE OUR ASSESSMENT OF ICCS EFFECTIVENESS
AND ROLE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES INCLUDING ANY
MOVES WE MAY BE MAKING TO BREAK IMPASSE;

(E) SHARE ANY INFORMATION POSSIBLE ON RESUMPTION
DIRECT US/NVN DISCUSSIONS OR ON POSSIBILITY SITUATION
MAY BE DISCUSSED AT MOSCOW SUMMIT; (IN MY MEETING
WITH MINISTER OF STATE SUDHARMONO HE PLACED GREAT
EMPHASIS ON U.S. ROLE.)

(F) ARGUMENTATION, BASED ON AGREEMENTS, AGAINST
ACCORDING FURTHER INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION TO PRG
AS GOVERNMENT. IN THIS AND OTHER POINTS WILL BE
HELPFUL STRESS INTERRELATED NATURE OF PARIS AGREEMENTS
AND RISK TO STRUCTURE OF PROMOTING SOLUTION APART FROM
AGREEMENTS. (ALDRICH SHOULD ANTICIPATE QUESTIONS
ABOUT ADVISABILITY/FEASIBILITY OF RECONVENING PARIS
CONFERENCE -- FOR THERE IS SOME FEELING HERE THAT
SUCH STEP OFFERS HOPE OF ENCOURAGING POLITICAL SOLUTION
AND BETTER FUNCTIONING OF ICCS.)

6. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE MAY BE AREAS HERE WHICH
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IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO COVER AND IN WMZCH ASSESSMENTS
MAY BE PESSIMISTIC. WE RECOGNIZE ALSO OTHER POSSIBLE
PITFALLS. INDONESIANS COULD RAISE QUESTION OF U.S.
FINANCIAL HELP. INDONESIANS MAY ALSO ASK ABOUT CAMBODIA'S
FUTURE, OUTLOOK FOR LON NOL GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF CAMBODIAN
SITUATION ON VIETNAM. WE BELIEVE THAT NEVERTHELESS, CANDID
EXPOSITION OF OUR VIEWS WILL SERVE TO DEMONSTRATE
IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO IMHONESIAN RELATIONSHIP
AND WILL HELP BOLSTER VOICES IN GOI PRESS SYMPATHETIC
TO CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT.

7. WE ANTICIPATE ALDRICH TALKS WOULD BE INITIALLY
WITH MALIK, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT PEOPLE AND MINISTER
OF STATE SUDHARMONO -- AND WE WILL BE SEEKING THEIR
ADVICE ON HOW BEST TO HAVE ALDRICH MAKE VIEWS KNOWN

TO PRESIDENT, GENERAL PANGGABEAN AND OTHERS
(E.G. GENERALS YOGA, SUHUD AND SOERONO). WE PLAN
EMPHASIZE ALDRICH VISIT IS THAT OF EXPERT FAMILIAR
WITH PROBLEM AND NOT HIGH-LEVEL EMISSARY WITH ANY
SPECIAL MESSAGE.
NEWSOM UNQUOTE RUSH

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